

# A TAMIL EELAM VOICE IN THE U.N.O.



**KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN**

**Text of speech made by Krishna Vaikunthavasan  
to the 150 member  
United Nations General Assembly  
on 5th October, 1978  
(The President of the Assembly Mr. I Liveano, presided)**

Mr President! Leaders of the World!

If oppressed minority nations such as Tamil Eelam cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go?

My name is Krishna and I come from the 2½ million strong Nation of Tamil Eelam lying between Sri Lanka and India.

The Sri Lanka Sinhala government is continuing a policy of genocide aimed at the destruction of our Tamil Nation.

We have exercised our right of self-determination to live as a separate Nation.

There is every danger of the Tamil problem threatening the peace of the Indian Region.

The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and the Cyprus problems unless you, the world leaders intervene and help in its solution now.

We appeal to you for such help! Thank you. I apologise for speaking without permission.

**LONG LIVE TAMIL EELAM!**

# FOREWORD

*The author of the Foreword has been a journalist-activist in the Tamil Eelam cause, was founder-editor of the Jaffna-based SATURDAY REVIEW and subsequently Editor/Director of the Tamil Information Centre, later Tamil Information & Research Unit (TIRU), Madras.*

The evolution of the Tamil Eelam struggle reminds one sometimes of the erratic courses of the many rivers in India. Like the Ganga that has its beginnings in the pure, clean Himalayan springs, and flows majestically to end up in holy Varanasi with rotting human corpses, like the Vaigai and the Kaveri drying up at some point to get silted with mud, like the pathetic Cooum in Madras stinking to high heaven, the Tamil Eelam struggle has within this decade and half gone through various phases - rapid flows, regressions, devious courses, triumphs and tribulations, but mercifully re-routed time and again by flourishes of movement. Looked at in this river imagery, one would always remember Krishna Vaikunthavasan's dramatic appearance at the podium of the supreme international forum on the 5th October 1978 as the first flourish in the campaign for Tamil Eelam. It was a symbolic act, yes, but an imaginative, aggressive, but non-violent one, and what is more important from a historical perspective, a timely one. It jolted the Sri Lankan establishment at a point of time when the Tamil Eelam cause was passing through a period of debility as a result of the weak-kneed attitudes of the acknowledged political leadership which was running out of ideas and was unable either to follow through its own declared goal or keep its pledge with its people.

Let us review Mr. Vaikunthavasan's artful audacity at the UN in the background of the evolution of the Tamil Eelam struggle. While Tamil Eelam militancy had set in by the year 1972, the first formal pledge for Tamil Eelam came in February 1975 when the Tamil United Front Leader Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam on winning the by-election at Kankesanturai with a crushing majority of over 16,000 votes (polling 25,927 as against his opponent's 9,457) declared:-

"...I wish to announce to my Tamil people and to the country that I consider the verdict at this election as a mandate that the Tamil nation should exercise sovereignty already vested in the Tamil people

and become free. On behalf of the TUF, I give you my solemn assurance that we will carry out the mandate'

## VADDUKKODDAI RESOLUTION

On July 27 the same year, the pro-government SLFP Mayor of Jaffna Mr. Alfred Durayappa was gunned down, marking the first stormy take-off of Tamil militancy. The following year, in May 1976, the Tamil United Front, nominally reconstituting itself into the Tamil United Liberation Front, passed the Vaddukkodai resolution, which while reaffirming the Tamil Eelam objective, was couched more with constitutional fervour than in the language of liberation. That was perhaps to be expected of middle-class politicians long attuned to a Parliamentary form of struggle, and harvesting votes through the spoken word than through action. That there was no strong will behind the resolution on the part of the leadership was soon made clear when the party MPs entered into fruitless negotiations with the then Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike in an effort to have an interim settlement before the impending elections, while shelving for the time being the Tamil Eelam demand. The TULF leader Mr. Chelvanayakam died on 26 April 1977, three months before the elections - a severe blow for the struggle at a crucial phase. Although the party subsequently headed by Mr. A. Amirthalingam declared bravely in its manifesto that the elected candidates would constitute themselves into an Assembly of Tamil Eelam and proceed to draw up its constitution, nothing remotely like that happened. On the contrary, with unerring political cunning, the triumphant J.R. Jayewardene notched his first victory against the Tamil leadership. Following a carrot-and-stick policy, he allowed the Tamils to get a beating in the anti-Tamil riots that broke out, while dangling on the other hand the post of Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lankan

Parliament - which Mr. Amirthalingam accepted. It is a moot point whether Mr. Chelvanayakam had he lived would have accepted that position and gone back on the "solemn pledge" that he gave the Tamil people in February 1975. **What is pertinent therefore is that Mr. Vaikunthavasan's raising the voice of Tamil Eelam at the UN Assembly came as a shot in the arm for the Eelam cause at a time when the accredited leadership had virtually given up any meaningful action in pursuance of its declared objective.** What was more deplorable was that, while the Sri Lankan establishment went red in the face, and the international community was exposed for the first time to the cry of a small nation in a farflung corner of the world, the TULF leadership failed even to cash in on that opportunity to take forward the campaign for Tamil Eelam. In fact, this writer was told by independent observers that Mr. Amirthalingam who was on a visit to New York a few days later took special care to distance his party from Mr. Vaikunthavasan's action. That was not surprising because the TULF leadership had consistently distanced itself from everything that nourished Tamil life and Tamil initiative since 1977 - from Tamil militancy, from the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO), from Gandhiyam, from the SATURDAY REVIEW, from the Tamil Information Centres in London, Madras and Madurai, in effect from everything that kept the goal of Tamil Eelam alive.

## SRI LANKAN REACTIONS

In contrast, Sri Lankan officials and the media, angry and annoyed as they were, could yet recognise in Mr. Vaikunthavasan's "act" the adverse impact it had on the Sri Lankan image. A former Sri Lankan diplomat and a senior official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Colombo, Mr. T.D.S.A. Dissanayaka, in his fairly documented book - THE AGONY OF SRI LANKA (1983) could not help paying Mr. Vaikunthavasan a left-handed compliment. He comments:-

".... every now and then Eelam lobbyists abroad staged a publicity stunt geared to attract the attention of the media. Perhaps the most successful of them was the gimmick of Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, a London based lawyer and Eelam supporter. In October 1978 he impersonated Foreign

Minister A.C.S. Hameed to address the UN General Assembly for a few minutes. Embarrassed security guards hustled him away from the rostrum after he had spoken a few sentences. However, from the point of view of the media it was a sensational story at the expense of Sri Lanka".

The SUN, the Colombo newspaper known for its Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinist outlook, reporting under the headline - EELAM FANATICS SPREAD THEIR WINGS (Oct. 9, 1978) made this reference:-

"An insidious campaign to discredit the government is reported to be under way in many world capitals.... So far, however, Sri Lanka missions abroad have been unable to arrest this smear campaign by making use of the media in the respective countries. Among some of the recent publications being circulated in several countries, including Sri Lanka, are those calling for an Indo-Sri Lankan federation, for more Tamils into Britain.... The booklet on Indo Sri Lanka federation is apparently authored by Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, the man who last week made the news by seizing the UN General Assembly rostrum when Foreign Minister Mr. A.C.S. Hameed was about to speak. The booklet which contains a page on the author himself, states that British Prime Minister James Callaghan had suggested an Indo-British federation including Pakistan, Bangladesh etc. So why can't India and Sri Lanka federate, it asks. Mr. Vaikunthavasan a former Secretary of the Government Clerical Services Union, states that he edited the English weekly newspaper "People's Voice" in Ceylon from 1951 to 1953....."

Much water has flowed down the Ganga and the Kelani (with its own floating corpses in recent times) between Mr. Vaikunthavasan's stirring blow for Tamil Eelam in 1978 and now. But an emerging nation must write its own history as it goes along, and record for posterity the chain of events and the shattering developments that have overtaken our people on the long path to freedom. Due to unavailability of copies of the various documents and booklets published by the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee, London, with the help of other organisations in the years 1978, 1980 and 1984, that lacuna is being filled with this publication, in what amounts to a virtual reprint of some of the selected documents, with the exception of this foreword. May it help to inspire others to set down in print and add to the vastly unrecorded history of our times.

S. SIVANAYAGAM,  
November 1989.

# LANKA TAMIL PUSHES CAUSE IN UN

INDIA ABROAD      October 20, 1978

By P.P. COOPER

Krishna Vaikunthavasan is an unlikely conman. For a year he has practised law in London and before that he was a district judge in Zambia. But for a couple of minutes, the 58-year-old Sri Lanka Tamilian fooled the whole United Nations General Assembly in promoting his cause—an independent Tamil nation carved out of Sri Lanka.

It was nearing noon and delegates from the 150 countries in the Assembly had sat stoically through an hour-long speech by the President of Cyprus and another by the Prime Minister of Surinam.

Now if only the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka would get over with his address, the delegates would be able to adjourn for lunch.

There is a ritual to the making of speeches in the General Assembly. Everybody generally knows what everybody else is going to say on a particular day - if they care to read the advance copies of speeches that are always available. Unless the speaker comes from a part of the world which is currently making headlines, most of the delegates do not even bother to turn their ear-phones on.

## UNFAMILIAR FACE

Also, when the General Assembly is in session, there may be up to 2,000 delegates - including several Presidents, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers - attending, and not everyone is a familiar figure. In fact hardly anyone knew what the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister looked like.

So when the stocky, greying Vaikunthavasan rose from one of the delegates' seats and strode to the rostrum in response to the Assembly President's invitation to the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister to speak, nobody except perhaps the Lanka delegates suspected anything amiss.

At the rostrum he was greeted by the president, an elderly Colombian named Indalecio Liveano, and returned the greeting with the ritual bow.

"Mr. President, leaders of the world," he began. It was a little unusual merely to invoke the "leaders of the world"; most speakers addressing the General Assembly use the opening to deliver a eulogy to the Assembly President and to his country, casting both as the epitome of democratic virtues.

But the unusually brief opening was generally ignored. There was no reason to suspect the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister was leading to anything extraordinary.

"If oppressed minority nations such as Tamil Eelam cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go? Please allow me to speak for a minute," Vaikunthavasan went on.

Tamil Eelam? Now when was that country admitted to the United Nations? The Assembly President's face assumed a quizzical look; a murmur spread through the ranks of the delegates.

"My name is Krishna and I come from the two-and-a-half million strong nation of Tamil Eelam lying between Sri Lanka and India. The Sri Lanka Government is continuing a policy of genocide."

## MICROPHONE OFF

At this point a frantic official threw a switch turning off the microphone. If this was the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, he had certainly lost his mind.

But even as security men hurried to the rostrum from distant corners of the General Assembly hall, Vaikunthavasan continued.

"We have exercised our right of self-determination to live as a separate nation. There is every danger of the Tamil problem threatening the peace in the Indian region. The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and the Cyprus problems unless you, the world leaders intervene and help in its solution now."

At this stage the guards hustled him away from the rostrum as blushing Assembly officials turned to the real Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, Shaul Hameed.

Vaikunthavasan was released after being told not to come back to the U.N.

Speaking later about his impersonation of the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, Vaikunthavasan described how he had planned it.

Arriving in New York in August to attend the Annual American Bar Association Conference, he first met with C.V. Narasimhan, now retired Under Secretary General of the United Nations, to find out if Ceylon Tamil leader Appapillai Amirthalingum, currently visiting the U.S. at the invitation of the State Department, could speak for his people in the General Assembly. After all, if Palestinian Yasser Arafat could address the world assembly with no official authority but that of the gun at his hip, why couldn't Amirthalingum?

But Narasimhan, a fellow Tamil from India, had no encouragement to offer. Arafat had the whole Arab world behind him. Amirthalingum would get his chance if he mustered similar support.

Then Vaikunthavasan, a former district judge in Zambia, thought, "Why not do something myself?" For weeks, in typical bank robber style he 'cased the joint'

He spent all of September visiting the U.N. Secretariat with more regularity than most accredited delegates.

To get through the main gates of the secretariat is normally a difficult task, unless you take the visitors' entrance and join a guided tour of the glass skyscraper on the East River.

But with the General Assembly in session and delegates of all colors accents and ego sizes not to mention their national costumes - scurrying in and out of the building, the security guards have learned over the years not to be too fussy about checking identifications.

Only recently there was a scene when an Indian delegate dressed in a rumpled kurta and pyjama and carrying no identify papers was prevented from entering one of the committee rooms. He was let in only after an accompanying Indian newspaper correspondent persuaded the guard that he has stopping a very important person and would not be doing any good to his career by persisting in his stubborn refusal to let him in.

So with the psychological insight gained from years of dealing with an assortment of offenders from the bench, Vaikunthavasan hit upon an ingenious scheme to gain entry into the United Nations; He just walked in.

Every day he hurried past the guards with his briefcase and the look of a harried delegate late for a crucial fifth committee meeting. For added effect as he neared the gate, he sometimes thrust his arms up to take a worried peek at his wristwatch.

"I was never stopped - not even once," he said with a sly smile that gave just a little hint of pride at his achievement, "It required steel nerves," he acknowledged.

## INTRODUCED TO WALDHEIM

Soon he became a familiar face to guards not only at the entrance, but also on many of the floors where he wandered, always taking

care to look busy. He brushed shoulders with delegates from all over the world first in the secretariat canteen, then at diplomatic parties. He was even introduced at one party to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

"I am from Sri Lanka," he would say truthfully. Then, if he was asked something like which committee he was serving on (everybody serves on a committee at the U.N.), he would only slightly embellish the truth: "Well, I haven't decided yet whether to accept the second committee or the third."

Vaikunthavasan even sat in the delegates' section in the daily Assembly session. "In my mind I told myself, 'I am a delegate - a delegate for Tamil Eelam', he said. Tamil Eelam is the Tamil state he wants to see created in the traditional Tamil northern and eastern areas of Sri Lanka.

He wouldn't confirm it, but very reliable sources close to the Indian delegation revealed that Vaikunthavasan gained entry to the delegates' section with a little help from some Indian delegates he had befriended during his U.N. sojourn. Of course they were not aware of what he was planning to do.

The Hindu Tamils in Sri Lanka have a 2,500-year history - the same as the majority 11 million Buddhist Sinhalas. The two were lumped together in one state - Ceylon - when the colonial British rulers left in 1948.

They haven't lived in peace since. Only in August last year 200 people, most of them Tamils, died in islandwide communal riots. That was the last straw so far as Tamil youth on the island are concerned. People like Amirthalingum who have fought all their lives for a separate Tamil State, with perhaps some federal ties to the Sinhala regions, are no longer able to resist the Tamil youth's call for complete independence. There is violence in the air, though Amirthalingum discourages it and hopes to achieve independence for his people by peaceful means, through negotiations. But time is running out.

In his mind, Vaikunthavasan had no qualms about what he was planning to do. He represented his people and if the world would not give them an opportunity to present their case, he would present it anyway.

The day the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister was scheduled to speak - October 5 - Vaikunthavasan flitted from delegation to delegation, engaging in small talk, but his mind alert to catch the Assembly President's call.

When it finally came, he walked briskly - but not unusually quickly either - to the rostrum, bowed to the official and had his say before the real Sri Lanka Foreign Minister even got out of his chair.

*With acknowledgements to "INDIA ABROAD", New York*



With the D.M.K. Leader Thiru M. Karunanidhi February 8, 1980

# VAIKUN FIRES — U.N. ROCKET

**B. B. C. World News**

Did Krishna Vaikunthavasan the Ceylonese who created history at the United Nations Assembly by being the first-ever uninvited, gate-crashing non-delegate to speak from the speaker's podium have an accredited foreign delegate as an accomplice?

Those who held office at the United Nations like Sir Senerath Gunawardene, Sri Lanka's U.N. Ambassador from 1955 - 58 and who helmed the Human Rights Commission among other U.N. assignments, maintain that security arrangements are so tight that sneaking past the security cordon is near impossible without help from other delegates.

"I know the workings of the U.N. office very well because of my close association with the U.N." said Sir Senerath, "I am almost positive Vaikunthavasan could not have got into the delegate's seats without any help."

U.N. attendance averages nearly 750 delegates at each session. This is worked out on the basis of five delegates to each of the 150 member nations. So that Vaikunthavasan who was earlier a judge in Zambia, representing that country at two Commonwealth Magistrates Conferences in Nairobi in August 1973 and again in Kuala Lumpur in August, 1975, had contacts in all the African countries as well as outside.

## ACCOMPLICE

Speculation points to the accomplice being from the Afro-Arab-bloc which along with Asia dominates the U.N. Vaikunthavasan was also a Marxist. Whoever his accomplice was both

friend and foe admit that Vaikunthavasan's spectacular U.N. raid had the same publicity impact as a hijacking, whatever cause it espoused.

It is pointed out that in 32 years of U.N. existence (its first meeting was in Jan. 1946) no radical organisation like the P.L.O or the I.R.A. or the Red Guards or even the Baader-Meinhoff urban guerillas had attempted such a daring means of focusing world attention on a national problem.

"Vaikunthavasan," said a political commentator, "has achieved much more for the Tamil cause by way of international publicity in his three minute raid on the U.N. microphone than the T.U.L.F. has so far done." He was besieged by newspapermen from all countries represented at the U.N. Understandably T.V. interviews would also have followed.

## BLAZE

The blaze of global publicity for the Tamils that Vaikunthavasan's UN outburst switched on has embarrassed the Sri Lanka Government considerably. The President was first informed of the incident by a telephone call, followed by a telexed report from Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, the ever-smiling Mr A.C.S. Hameed. Since then Acting Foreign Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe has been in touch with Sri Lanka's U.N. Office in New York for follow-up action.

The immediate impact of this incident on Sri Lanka is that it is being construed as bad publicity for the Free Trade Zone, the king-pin in the Government's development scheme.

Government is worried that this will put the clock back on the work now being done.

Apart from the FTZ, the attitude of the World Bank and other donor countries could suffer from the outburst at the UN.

But apart from being embarrassed and angry, what can the Sri Lanka Government do about the cause of all this trouble - Krishna Vaikunthavasan? They will find it difficult to have him

extradited from USA - if he is still there - or from Britain, where he resides.

Legal eagles here say that Vaikunthavasan has not violated any known law. In any case, they argue that the Government will not risk any more publicity on the Vaikunthavasan issue.

*With acknowledgements to "The Independent" (Colombo, of 13.10.78)*

## B. B. C. World News

Dated 5th Oct. '78

"At the U.N. General assembly there has been a demonstration in support of Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. Just as the Sri Lanka foreign minister was approaching the rostrum to speak, a man rushed forward and said he wanted to make an appeal on behalf of the Tamils, who he said were victims of genocide by the Sri Lankan government. At that point the microphone was cut off and the man was led away by a guard. The protester was later identified as a former Sri Lankan judge now living in London"

### From the B.B.C Correspondent:

"Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan announced himself at the rostrum as Mr. Krishna. He said he wanted to speak on behalf of the 3.5 million Tamils who he said were the victims of genocide by what he called the Sinhala government. At this point he was taken out of the building by guards. Later he managed to get back inside one of the public areas where he was interviewed by one of the B.B.C. Correspondents.

He had been a judge for several years in E. Africa and is now a lawyer in London. He had been at a legal Conference in America and decided to stay on to publicise the cause. He wanted to do something dramatic to draw the attention of the world to the plight of the Tamils, as other efforts have failed.

He got in by mingling with a group of delegates there by avoiding the usual stringent security checks."

# EELAM NATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS

**Krishna Vaikunthavasan**

THERE are days in the lives of nations that cannot be measured in units of time, but are measured in terms of the horizons they open up, the hopes they present, and the ideas they inspire. We are passing through such days at present in the age-old history of the Tamil Nation.

For about two thousand years Ceylon (I say Ceylon, and not Sri Lanka) has been peopled by two nations, the Tamils and the Sinhalese. The Tamil Nation, which lost its independence to the Portuguese, the first of European conquerors in 1619, still continues to be subject to an alien power in their own country. The Tamils, who had their own kingdom and had a separate identity for centuries prior to the European conquest, are now treated as second class subjects and inferior people by the neo-colonial power, the Sinhalese ruling classes. It should be noted that the Tamils were conquered and lost their freedom in war. It was as a separate kingdom, distinct and apart from the Sinhalese kingdom, that Tamil Eelam was conquered by the Portuguese. Ceylon was one Island, but not one Nation or State, when it went under Imperialist heels. IT IS AN ISLAND OF TWO NATIONS, AND IT IS NONSENSE TO TALK OF INDIVISIBILITY UNLESS BOTH NATIONS CAN LIVE AS EQUAL PARTNERS.

### **Principle of Majority Rule does not apply in Ceylon.**

The British masters who ruled Ceylon until 1948 cunningly transferred their power to the majority ethnic group, the Sinhalese, knowing fully well that the democratic principle of majority rule does not come in at all where two

separate nations are concerned. The British struck a deal with the Sinhalese majority in order to preserve their own self-interests, as revealed in such Agreements as the use of the Trincomalee Naval Base, Katunayake Air Base, etc.

The Tamils, although a separate Nation, are, nevertheless, a "minority" in Ceylon, in view of the fact that they constitute just over 18% of the population. The problem of the rights of minorities has been "under the table" of various United Nations bodies for too long. In accordance with the historical and current development of the right to self-determination on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and other instruments adopted by United Nations Organs, with particular reference to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Tamils of Ceylon have exercised this right. The right of self-determination is the inalienable right of any nation. The right of peoples to self-determination is a fundamental right, without which other rights cannot be enjoyed. It is not only a principle, but the most important subjective right among human rights. Political self-determination can mean nothing else than the right to secede and form an independent National State.

From their daily experience the people know perfectly well the value of geographical and economical ties and the advantages of a big market and a big state. THEY WILL, THEREFORE, RESORT TO SECESSION ONLY WHEN NATIONAL OPRESSION AND NATIONAL FRICTION MAKE JOINT LIFE ABSOLUTELY INTOLERABLE AND HINDER

ANY AND ALL ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE. It is in this situation that the Tamil people have decided on separation.

### Is the conflict racial or class?

In the present conditions in Ceylon, the interests of capitalist development and of the freedom of the class struggle will be best served by secession. The conflict in Ceylon is basically racial and not much of a class struggle in character. IT MAY BE SAID THAT THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE RACIAL CONFLICT HAVE FUSED INTO ONE, SINCE THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THE TAMIL NATION IS ITSELF AT STAKE. OUR FIRST PRIORITY MUST BE THE SURVIVAL OF THE TAMIL NATION.

Where two ethnic groups live in one country, such as the Sinhalese and Tamils in Ceylon, the tyranny of the majority is the most dangerous type of tyranny for democracy. The Tamil speaking people lack not only actual, but also legal, formal equality.

### Eelam to become A UN Member

The right to self-determination must be fully recognized as the basis for a new world society, for an effective World Federal Super-government. The inter-relationship between self-determination and economic development should be emphasized. For the establishment of a new international economic order, for the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, and for the proper implementation of the provisions contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and duties of States, it is all-important that the United Nations should intervene, recognize, and admit as members new nations such as Tamil Eelam, once the people concerned have exercised their right of self-determination. The fact that the Tamils are not yet ruling themselves should be no argument against their admission as a Member-State in the UN. Precedents could be created by the necessary amendments to its Charter.

The Secretary-General of the UN has often declared that regional problems should be contained and dealt with in the regional context, a principle contained in Article 52 of the United Nations Charter. The role of regional organisations, such as the Organisation of African Uni-

ty, in maintaining international peace and security is complementary to the role of the United Nations and is of great support to the main objectives of the UN.

### Tamils in the Indian Sub-Continent

As things develop, there can be no doubt that the Tamil question will gradually emerge as a very serious problem threatening the peace and security of the Indian sub-continent itself. In view of the very close cultural, linguistic, and religious connections between Ceylon and India from very ancient times, we look forward to our great neighbour, India, to take the initiative to solve the mounting Tamil crisis in the sub-continent. Once the Indian Government is more sympathetic to the needs of the Tamil community within India, it may be more receptive to the concept of the unity of the Greater Tamil Community of South Asia. Furthermore, the strategic importance of the Tamil areas in Ceylon, especially the vital Tricomalee harbour in Tamil Eelam, make closer ties between Tamil Eelam and India an attractive and viable possibility for the future.

### Planned colonisation of Tamil areas

What the body is to a soul is the land to a linguistic group. Language is the most important means of human intercourse. The new Constitution for Ceylon that came into force in September 1978 has not conceded any of the just and reasonable demands of the Tamils in relation to citizenship, colonisation, language, religion, culture, education, employment, economic development of Tamil areas, communal violence and terrorization, etc. On the contrary, the new Constitution perpetuates the position of the Tamils as a slave nation ruled by the new Colonial masters, the Sinhalese ruling classes who are using the power they have surreptitiously and immorally usurped to deprive the Tamil Nation of its territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment, and education, thereby destroying the attributes of Nationhood of the Tamil people. The deliberate and planned colonising of the Tamil areas is destroying the socio-economic life of the Tamil people. In the past 30 years, more than half a million Sinhalese have colonised Tamil areas of more than 2,000 square miles, whereas the number of landless peasants in the traditional Tamil homelands of

the North and East is on the steady increase. The Sinhala colonists in the Tamil areas are backed by the Armed Forces and aided by the Government machinery. This forcible colonisation is naturally met with determined resistance by the Tamil people who are now organising themselves to take back their homes by means of mass resistance. With the passage of time, the Sinhalese ruling classes have developed vested, mercenary interests in the permanence of out-breaks of communal violence and in the domination of the Tamils.

### Sovereignty of the Tamil Nation

When Ceylon was granted political independence in 1948, in British Queen continued to be the repository of the sovereignty of the Tamil as well as the Sinhalese people. The Republican Constitution of 1972 severed this legal continuity, proclaiming that the people of Ceylon themselves were the repository of this sovereignty. However, the representatives of the Tamil Nation withheld their consent to this Constitution and rejected it. Thus, it is clear that there is neither legal continuity nor the consent of the Tamil Nation to the Constitution. The sovereignty of the Tamil Nation and the Statehood that was taken away from them in the battle field in 1619 by the Portuguese changed hands into the Dutch and later to the British by right of conquest. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SINHALESE NATION HAS NOT TAKEN OVER THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE TAMIL NATION THROUGH LEGAL CONTINUITY OR BY CONSENT or by right of conquest.

There is no doubt that the Tamil Nation, by standards of international law, does possess the right, on the basis of the right to self-determination, to re-establish its sovereignty and statehood and to draft for itself a constitution and, thus, to administer its own affairs, all by itself. The Sinhalese Nation imposing its reign over the Tamil Nation and the conversion of Tamil Eelam into a Colony of the Sinhalese State are undoubtedly nothing else but Imperialist rule.

The 1972 Constitution was one that was drafted on the basis of the right to self-determination of the Sinhala Nation on the mandate given by that Nation for that purpose. In the same manner the Tamil United Libera-

tion Front obtained the specific mandate of the Tamil Nation in the July 1977 general elections to re-establish the independence of the State of Tamil Eelam. This mandate was obtained on the basis of its right to self-determination.

### Much smaller countries UN Members

The Tamil people, are seeking today to restore their statehood, which they lost 400 years ago, so that they can live in freedom. It is now over 12 years since the mandate, and we Tamils must intensify our efforts to mobilize international support for Eelam and to have it admitted to the UN as a member. Article 109 of the UN Charter provides for the review and revision of the UN Charter itself. The Charter should be revised so as to enable states such as Eelam to be admitted as members on the basis that the right to self-determination has been exercised. In the UNO, there are a number of countries which are members but are much smaller in area and population than Eelam. Among the latest to be admitted is the Solomon Islands, a group of very small islets, (lying to the North East of Australia), with a population of only 180,000. It became the 37th member of the Commonwealth and 150th UN member from 20 September 1978. It may be noted that it was through peaceful negotiations that the Solomon Islands achieved nationhood.

On the occasion of the admission to the UN in 1965 of such small countries as Gambia, Maldives, and Singapore, questions were raised in the Security Council, and the Secretary General cautioned on the need to examine anew the principles upon which the admissions of new members are based. Since 1965, however, even countries smaller than Maldives in population and size have been admitted as members of the UN. The Republic of SEYCHELLES is only 59,000. GRENADA: 96,000, QUATAR: 95,000; and SAO TOME and PRINCIPE: 81,000. So why not Eelam, with its population of nearly three million and a size about 7,500 square miles (roughly 30% of the land surface of Ceylon)?

### Tamil expatriates as a political force

In the present context, the large and relatively wealthy Tamil expatriate community will be of key importance. There are thousands of Tamils from Eelam working as professionals in

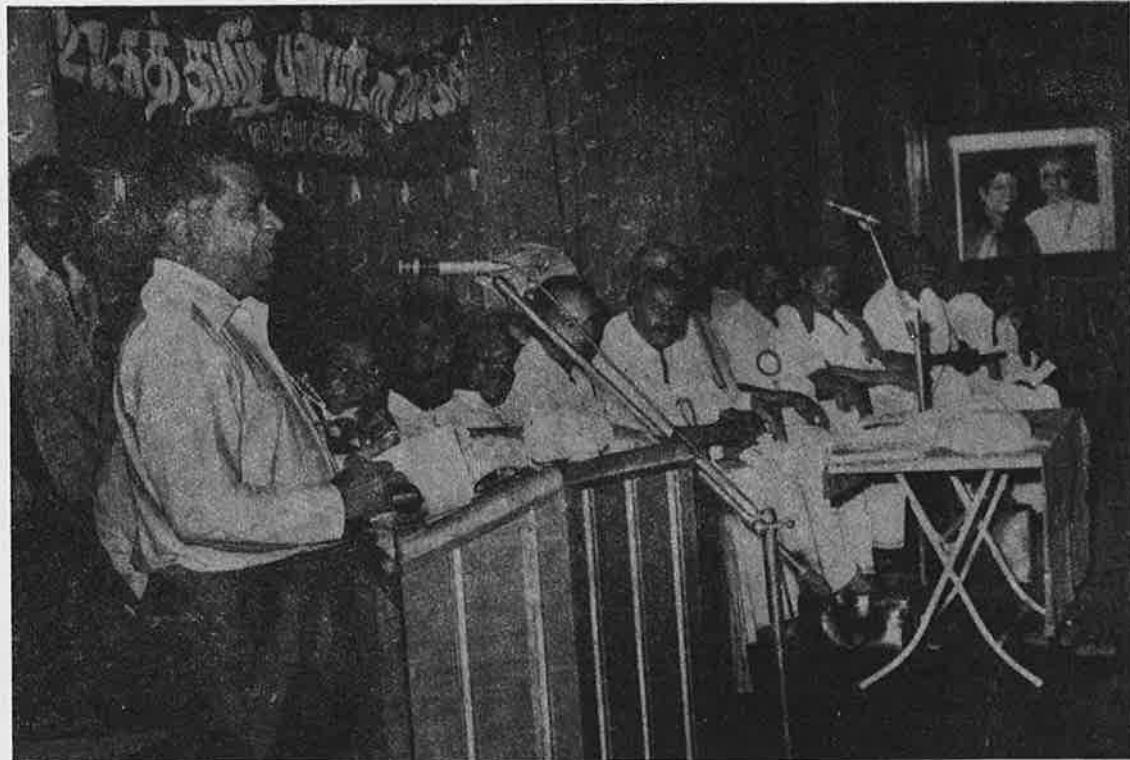
the United States, UK, Canada, Australia, Zambia, Nigeria, etc. They have the skills and the funds. In each of these countries, it is the duty of the Tamils and their friends to play an increasingly major role in shaping the future to build Tamil Eelam. They must mobilize themselves as a political force to apply pressure on other governments on the Tamil behalf. The more international sympathy and support we are able to get, the quicker will be the realisation of our cherished goal.

### **60 million Tamils but no country**

Although there are over 60 million Tamil speakers in the world in countries such as Tamil

Nadu, India (50 million); Malaysia; Singapore; South Africa; Mauritius; Ceylon etc, it is deplorable that we have no country in the world to call our own. So here is the opportunity for our TAMIL friends throughout the world to help in the coming into being of Eelam, the first TAMIL country in modern times. In view of the fact that Tamil is the oldest spoken language in the world, and since as many as over 60 million people speak it, Tamil deserves to be recognised as a language at the UN, as well as a world language.

**Long live Tamil Eelam!**



At the meeting held in Madurai, November 1980

# TCC'S Appeal to Mrs. Gandhi

55 Warren Road  
Colliers Wood  
LONDON SW19 2HY  
22 August 79

Mrs. Indira Gandhi  
INDIA

Yours Excellency,

## The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka

The Tamil Co-ordinating committee which represents thousands of Tamils and several Tamil organisations abroad makes this appeal to you to bring about a peaceful solution between the 3½ million Tamil speaking people in Sri Lanka and the 11 million Sinhala majority.

We are only too conscious of the fact that you are fully aware of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. The Northern Province (Jaffna) is still in the grip of continuing fear and anxiety since the night of 13/14 July last, when several Tamil youth were tortured and murdered. A leaflet issued in this connection is enclosed.

Once again we shall be very grateful if you will please use your influence and power to bring about a just and peaceful solution.

Yours Sincerely

(K. Vaikunthavasan) Convener  
for and on behalf of the Tamil  
Co-ordinating Committee.

## LANKA GUARDIAN

The Lanka Guardian in its October 15, 1978 issue, commenting on Mr. Vaikunthavasan's daring seizure of the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly said that it was "of course the most spectacular exercise in a concerted campaign by Tamil expatriates to internationalise the Tamil issue."



2654  
12 Willingdon Crescent  
New Delhi-110011, India

August 27 1979

Dear Mr Vaikunthavasan,

I have just received your letter of the 22nd August and am horrified to see the enclosures.

The Janata Party Government is going out of its way to be friendly with the present Government of Sri Lanka. I doubt if they will wish to take up the issue the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. At the moment all attention is on our election but I shall see if it is possible to bring this issue to the notice of the public in some other way.

Yours sincerely,

*Indira Gandhi*  
Indira Gandhi

Mr K Vaikunthavasan  
Convenor  
Tamil Co-ordinating Committee  
55 Warren Road  
Colliers Wood  
LONDON SW19 2AY

# Propaganda vanguard

WE THE TAMIL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

CONSTITUTE A PROPAGANDA VANGUARD OF THE TAMIL EELAM LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM.

AT THE SAME TIME OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE CO-ORDINATION OF AS MANY TAMIL ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS AS POSSIBLE WITH A VIEW TO INTEGRATE INTO THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE.

THE FOLLOWING PAGES WILL SHOW HOW EFFECTIVE OUR WORK AND IMPACT HAVE BEEN IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD.

During the three months from January-March 1980, Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Convenor of the London-based TAMIL Coordinating Committee undertook his longest and also a very successful propaganda tour on behalf of the Tamil cause.

In the course of this mission he visited India, Singapore and Malaysia.

## Meeting With The Indian P.M.

He spent January and February in India. While in New Delhi, he met with the Indian Prime-Minister, Indira Gandhi on 28 January and submitted to her a Memo as to how best she could begin in the peaceful solution of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. The meeting and discussion took about 10mts. At the end of the interview, she said she would do her best. Mrs. Gandhi had earlier replied on 26 August 1979 to the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee in London telling them that she was personally aware of the suffering of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and indicated that she would definitely take up the matter once she came back to power. A careful reading of her reply very clearly spells out her views on the problem.

It is in this background of her expressed concern regarding the Tamil problem, that the TCC arranged for its spokesman to meet personally Indira Gandhi soon after her tremendous victory in the Indian General elections.

Besides the Prime Minister, Mr. Vaikunthavasan met with some of the other leading political personalities in New Delhi.

## 15 mts. Interview With The Foreign Minister

He had a 20 minutes meeting with the newly appointed Indian Finance Minister, Hon. R. Venkataraman in his office. Mr. Venkataraman was very sympathetic and agreed to discuss the matter with the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister. The convener also met the Indian External Affairs Minister Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao for about 15 minutes and presented the Tamil case. All the topmost Indian leaders i.e. the Prime Minister, the External Affairs Minister, the Finance Minister and the Transport Minister Mr. C.M. Stephen evinced deep concern and promised to do their best on behalf of the Indian Government to settle peacefully the Tamil problem in Ceylon.

## Also Met Tamil MPs

Mr. Vaikunthavasan also met with the DMK leaders Mr. Lakshmanan (The Deputy Speaker of the Lok-Sabha-the Indian Parliament) and Mr. Murosoli Maran the leading Tamil MP AND DISCUSSED with them the Tamil question. A number of MPs from Tamil Nadu reside in the Tamil Nadu House in New Delhi when the Parliament is in session. Mr. Vaikunthavasan took this opportunity and met most of the Tamil MPs at the TN House from time to time and appealed to them for their support. Mr. Vaikunthavasan also met Opposition leaders such as Shri Vajpayee MP (New Delhi) who was formerly Minister for External Affairs when Mr. Moraji Desai was Prime Minister. In Madras, he met with the DMK leader Mr. M. Karunanithi and appealed to him to discuss in detail our problem with the Indian Prime Minister and bring

up a very speedy solution. Mr. Karunanithi agreed.

### Growing Concern in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, a series of reception meetings were held at different parts in Madras and also in towns like Coimbatore, Erode and Pondicherry at which Mr. Vaikunthavasan expressed the Eelam Tamils' deep appreciation for the growing concern shown during the last several years by the Tamil people in Tamil Nadu and appealed to them to bring on more and more pressure on their MPs so that these in turn could have the matter raised in the Lok Sabha itself.

A number of leading newspapers and Magazines in India such as the *Madras Hindu*, the popular *Kunkumam* and *Murasoli* published news reports and special feature articles as a result of Mr Vaikunthavasan meeting the Editors and Journalists and appraising them of the increasing TAMIL crisis. The Hindu news items, PTI and other articles are reproduced here as annexures.

### Tamil Poets Participate

In addition to the reception meetings, Padarangam and Kaviarankam meetings were held by way of honouring Vaikunthavasan, especially for his addressing the UN General Assembly (5 October 1978) on the Tamil problem and thus raising and bringing the Tamil issue to the attention of the world.

Leading Tamil poets such as Murasoli Manimoli, Kavikul Pon Iyendarappan, Santhakavi Mani Muththarasan, Idi Murasu, Aru Gopalan, Thamil Mannan, and Kavignar Suratha, participated in the Kaviarangam at which the progress of the Eelam liberation struggle was depicted in highly emotional terms. The well known poet Dr. Perum Kavikko Sethuraman presided.

In his 2 weeks propaganda mission in Singapore and Malaysia, he addressed

members of the leading Tamil organisations. A large number of Tamil men and women participated at these meetings.

At Kuala Lumpur a lively discussion meeting took place at the Vivekananda School. He addressed another one at the popular Ceylon Tamils KALAVIRUTHY SANGAM Hall. Eager and anxious questions and comments were made by several in the audience.

### Singapore Tamils Movement

In Singapore, he addressed a very largely attended meeting organised by the Singapore Tamils Movement (Membership-4,000) at its Headquarters, 35 Norris Road, Singapore. This movement is 25 years old, with its own big headquarters, library and living quarters. Mr. Vaikunthavasan was introduced by Mr. M.S. Veerappan (General Secretary) and Mr. K. Arunasalam (Vice President) also spoke. Tamils Reform Association's President Mr. A. Victor and Vice President Mr. M. Murugu Seenivasan were among those who took part in the reception.

In Kuala Lumpur the leading Tamil Daily, Thamil Nesan read by over 90% of the 1½ Million Tamil population throughout Malaysia published a full page feature article about Mr. Vaikunthavasan's visit to Malaysia and on how best the politically conscious Tamils in Malaysia could play their part in establishing the new state of TAMIL-EELAM.

### HIS CONVICTION

His tour of Tamil Nadu, Malaysia and Singapore has convinced Mr. Vaikunthavasan that if only the Surging Enthusiasm and patriotic feeling among the Tamils in different parts of the world for an Independent Tamil Country can be channelled and coordinated, Tamil Eelam will dawn sooner than some of us think.

**APPENDIX I****Citizenship for Tamils***(Hindu Report 15-2-80)*

The Convenor of the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee, London, Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, has urged the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to take up with the Sri Lanka Government the issue of granting citizenship rights to all Stateless Tamil people in that country.

In a memorandum, he said there were half a million Tamils of recent Indian origin in Sri Lanka who continued to be Stateless; they were neither citizens of Sri Lanka nor of India-for the last 31 years.

The Tamil Coordinating Committee, which is based in London, liaises with various Governments in mobilising support for the cause of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Mr. Vaikunthavasan, who met the Prime Minister recently in New Delhi, explained to her the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and pointed out how they lost their civic rights and citizenship following a Sinhala enactment in 1949.

He also pleaded with the Prime Minister to have a Tamilian as Indian High Commissioner in Colombo. That would ensure a better treatment of the Stateless people, by the natives and the island Government.

The Prime Minister, he said assured him that she would attend to the problem and take whatever steps were necessary. While in Delhi, he also called on the Foreign Minister Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and the Finance Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan is in Madras to meet the Chief Minister, Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, the Leader of the Opposition in the Tamil Nadu Legislature, Mr. M. Karunanidhi and other leaders to apprise them of the problem of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. He said the Sirimavo - Shastri pact, entered into in 1964, had come to an end and it was due for review.

**APPENDIX II****Sri Lanka Separatist Leader's Meeting with Mrs. Gandhi Criticised**

The Sri Lanka Government owned "Sunday Times" has quoted "diplomatic quarters" to question the propriety of the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, meeting Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, London based Tamil separatist leader, soon after her assuming office.

In a front-page story written by its "Diplomatic Correspondent" the Sunday Times noted that Mrs. Gandhi met Mr. Vaikunthavasan, convener of the London based Tamil Coordinating Committee in Delhi on Jan, 20 last and received a memorandum from him "highly critical of the policies of the Government of Sri Lanka" and said "diplomatic quarters" were "puzzled" over this.

The paper added: "Diplomatic sources believe that Mrs. Gandhi would not have had the prior intimation of the contents of the memorandum or the actual purpose of Mr. Vaikunthavasan's call on her. The sources contend that the Indian Premier would not have been a willing party to an act of impropriety since Mr. Vaikunthavasan represents secessionist forces in Sri Lanka. He has been openly advocating the separatist cause of Tamil extremists and propagating it in several capitals of the world".-PTI.

THE HINDU  
19-2-80

## APPENDIX III

## Call on Indian P M Puzzles Diplomats

Diplomatic quarters are puzzled as to the circumstances that led the Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to receive Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, convenor of the London based Tamil Co-ordinating Committee in Delhi last month and receive from him a memorandum highly critical of the policies of the Government of Sri Lanka. Mrs. Gandhi received the memorandum from Mr. Vaikunthavasan on January 20 this year some days after her spectacular return to power.

Diplomatic sources believe that Mrs. Gandhi would not have had the prior intimation of the contents of the memorandum or the actual purpose of Mr. Vaikunthavasan's call on her. The sources contend that the Indian Premier would not have been a willing party to an act of impropriety since Mr. Vaikunthavasan represents secessionist forces in Sri Lanka. He has been openly advocating the separatist cause of Tamil

extremists and propagating it in several capitals of the world.

With this background, Mrs. Gandhi's gesture might give encouragement to the separatist forces in this country. India and Sri Lanka have age old friendship based on the dedicated principle of Panchaseela, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

Obviously the serious implications of her meeting and receiving a memorandum from Mr. Vaikunthavasan critical of the Government and policies of Sri Lanka have been kept away from her. Mr. Vaikunthavasan has made capital of this unfortunate situation and has published his meeting with Mrs. Gandhi with photographs and the contents of the memorandum all over the world.

— The Sunday Times  
(Colombo) 17-2-80

## The DIPLOMATIC WORLD BULLETIN

"That other General Assembly incident is of the "foreign minister" of Sri Lanka. How the London barrister Krishna Vaikunthavasan ever managed to reach the rostrum to deliver his impassioned two-minute appeal on behalf of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority is still a mystery. As soon as President Indalecio Liveano realized Vaikunthavasan was not the real foreign minister, Sahul Hameed, a switch was thrown cutting off the imposter's microphone and guards hustled him out of the hall. Hameed, treated the incident with typical good humor, saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a sensation."

United Nations official Bulletin dated October 9, 1978.

# ½ Million Tamils Stateless for over 30 years

55, Warren Road  
Colliers Wood  
LONDON SW19 2HY  
28 January 1980

Hon. The Prime Minister  
Prime Minister's Office  
New Delhi

Yours Excellency,

This is to confirm the following cable sent to you by our Committee on 3rd January 1980:-

The World needs your leadership - Tamil Committee, London.

Further to our letter to your Excellency dated 21 September 1979, we hereby appeal to you to take the following steps as soon as possible with a view to mitigate the sufferings of the 3 million Tamils in Sri Lanka:-

(1) The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo to be a Tamil. This request has been made for a very long time on the reasonable ground that over a million Tamils of recent Indian origin settled for generations in Sri Lanka are Tamils whose forefathers were taken by the British around 1860 and thereafter to work in the newly opened Rubber & Tea Plantations.

It is a fact that about half a million of these Tamils are still stateless-they are neither citizens of Sri Lanka nor Indian citizens. It is our considered submission that if the Indian High Commissioner is a Tamil, this by itself will alert the Sri Lanka Govt. and the Sinhalese people themselves to treat the Tamils in a humane & less cruel manner.

(2) We appeal to you to request the Sri Lanka Govt. to grant citizenship rights to all the Stateless Tamil people who have made Sri Lanka their permanent home. There are half a million Tamils who continue to be Stateless for the last 31 years although they enjoyed full civic, franchise and citizenship

rights till 1949-in which year the majority Sinhala Legislature cruelly and unilaterally deprived the Tamils of their rights and made them Stateless. The vast majority of the 3 million Tamils in Sri Lanka have always been pro-India. In modern times our ties with India have grown and we look up to India as our giant neighbour.

After Ceylon became free in 1948 in the wake of India's Independence in 1947, the Sinhala dominated Sri Lanka Govts. have not always supported India's foreign policy. On the contrary, they have taken a different line at crucial times. The latest example is the fact that two weeks ago, the Sri Lanka Permanent Representative at the U.N. openly voted for the Pakistan sponsored resolution asking for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan-while India abstained.

Sri Lanka Govt. is definitely anti-Tamil & in times of emergency especially in the South Asia region, there is every danger that Sri Lanka may, in collusion with India's enemies, act against the vital interests of India. It is therefore, important that the vital TRINCOMALEE Harbour & the strategic position of Sri Lanka are not used against India's interests.

In 1977 when President Jayawardene visited New Delhi, he attacked your earlier Govt. policies & his present attitude is also one of disapproval. Otherwise, there is no reason why Sri Lanka should take a different attitude to that of India's policy, as shown on the voting regarding the Afghanistan issue at the United Na-

tions - especially so when Sri Lanka is away from the scene of 'conflict' and has no vital role to play in the Afghan region

In this background of Sri Lanka Govt's rather unfriendly policy towards India & in the light of the very inimical & hostile attitude of the Sri Lanka Govt. towards the 3 million Tamil "minority" in that country, we plead that your action on the lines submitted by us will not merely help the Tamils but also jolt the Sri

Lanka Govt. to an awakened and realistic policy towards India.

Yours sincerely  
Krishna Vaikunthavasan  
Convener  
for and on behalf of the Tamil  
Co-ordinating Committee.

Copy to: Hon. The Minister for Foreign Affairs  
NEW DELHI.



The President of India (then Finance Minister) receiving The Author in his New Delhi Office



With the Hon. A.B. VAJPAYEE in New Delhi.

*My two weeks visit to Norway (Oct 1-14)*

# Norwegians support the Tamil cause

17 October 1979

Norway is the one country in the world which is feeling very sympathetic to the cause of the Eelam Tamils. I say this after having witnessed first hand the situation there. For one whole week, from 1 October, every news paper in Norway gave front page headlines to our Tamil problem. This happened every day in the week. In addition, the T.V. and the Radio also publicised the Tamil cause. All this came about suddenly because of a deportation order against a Sri Lanka stateless Tamil girl student who was brought to Norway by her fosterparents, both Norwegians who worked in the KARAINAGAR Project for 2 years. (This Norwegian project which specialises in building fishing boats, was started in 1967 and is still going strong employing nearly 300 Tamils). The girl is Miss Java Maria Nainar and her foster-parents are Mr. & Mrs. A. Sandvik.

As a result of the national and countrywide demonstrations against the Deportation Order, the Government has suspended it. Along with the Norwegian Advocate who is appearing for Java Maria, I also assisted by giving a detailed statement to the Ministry of Justice regarding the background to the over half a million stateless Tamils of whom Java Maria is one.

The students in her college went to the extent of even protecting her demonstratively and symbolically with the Norwegian flag. Where else can this happen except in a friendly country like Norway? Other students throughout Norway followed suit. I addressed hundreds of enthusiastic students and they all promised to help us.

Norway is also the country which gives the maximum aid and assistance to the Third World countries. It has granted hundreds of millions of pounds by way of aid to the Sri Lanka Government during the past 12 years. At present a number of Norwegians are working in their different projects in Sri Lanka. It was only last month that as much as 3½ million pounds was given as aid by the Norwegian Government

to Sri Lanka. But the Colombo authorities have decided that the whole of this money should go to a Sinhalese area namely Hambantota. The Tamil areas have never received their fair share of the Norwegian aid. The Norwegian authorities never meant to discriminate against the Tamils.

In this connection, on the 3rd October, I met Mr. Paal Bog, the Director-General, Department for International Economic and Social Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo. He is the man in charge of all Norwegian aid. After listening to what I had to say as to how best the massive Norwegian aid should be fairly distributed so that the Tamil areas also will stand to benefit, the Director-General promised to re-evaluate the matter. He will be visiting Sri Lanka in 2 weeks time and assured me at the interview that he would discuss the matter with the authorities in Colombo.

Our Committee wishes to express its thanks to the Director-General and also to the following Norwegian personalities for having met with me and discussed at length the Tamil sufferings:-

1. Mrs. Ragnhild Holsed M.P.
2. Mr. Harald Maaland, Political Correspondent, Bergens Tidende, Bergen, Norway
3. Mr. & Mrs. Kjetil Are Bakke
4. Mr. Gunnar Aedal Pedersen all from the
5. Mr. Finn Lien powerful Norwegian Trade
6. Mr. Olav Lero Union Congress
7. Mr. Jacob N. Greve
8. Mr. Thorbjorn Oro
9. Mr. Arnulf Sandvik
10. Mr. Torgeir Foss, Bergen Apbeioerblad, Christ Michelsensgt, 5000 Bergen.

They have all promised to help.

This is also to thank the Norway TAMIL Sangams for inviting me and making all the necessary arrangements to meet the Press and other Norwegian Officials.

K. Vaikunthavasan  
Convener

***Two Weeks Propaganda for the Tamil  
Cause in France & Germany (9-23 Nov. 79)***

# **France and Germany Support "Le Monde" Report**

The highlights of my visit to France and Germany were the Press Conference I held in Paris with the correspondents of the leading French **Newspapers** on 13 November regarding the Tamil Liberation struggle and my address to the All-German Delegates Congress held on 18 November in Frankfurt.

The Paris Press Conference was attended by a number of representatives including those from Reuters, Le Monde, Amnesty International, International Federation for Human Rights. This was followed by the publication of a report in "Le Monde" and other newspapers. The French daily "Le Monde" is one of the world's most renowned and prestigious newspapers and its certified circulation (throughout the world) is well over half a million (the exact figure is 584,959). It has a better international standing than the "Times" London, "The Guardian" or the "Hindu." An English translation is attached along with the original

The 350 men and women delegates who attended the Frankfurt Congress from every part of Germany were political radicals and represented every strata of German society. There were intellectuals, workers, students, trade unionists etc. The occasion was the commemoration of the 100th birth anniversary of Trotsky and this was the first time since Hitler that such a largely attended meeting of the Trotskyite movement was held anywhere in Germany. Mr. Uli-Rippert spoke on behalf of the German section of the Fourth International. Representatives from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, General Union of Arabic Students, Iranian Peoples Movement and Gadaffi's Libyan Revolution addressed the Congress.

I spoke on behalf of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Movement, explaining the present phase

of the struggle and sought their support.

While in Paris I met with the following key officials:

The Director, Asia Section (Mr. Maurice Courdault-Montagne) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris. (He is incharge of Sri Lanka)

Mr. A. Clemot, Director, OFPRA (Department dealing with Refugees and those seeking political asylum), Paris.

Mr. Philippe Lavanchy, Deputy Director, OFPRA.

At present there are well over 1500 Eelam Tamils in France mostly in Paris. There is a similar number in West Germany in the cities Frankfurt, Bonn, Hamburg, Monchengladbach. In France, in addition to the Tamils from Eelam there are about 10,000 from the former French possessions of Pondicherry and Karaikkal and who settled in different parts of the country.

On November 11, I addressed a meeting of over 300 Tamils in Paris. In Frankfurt I addressed another meeting of about 150-Tamils on November 18. The vast majority of the Tamils from Eelam who now live in France and Germany are between the ages of 20 and 30. Both the meetings in Paris and Frankfurt were specially arranged in halls where Tamil films also were shown. Questions as to how best to step up the Tamil struggle were answered.

Just as in the case of my mission to Norway in October, the Tamils in France and Germany have pledged their full and active support to the Tamil Eelam cause. My sincere thanks to the friends both in France and Germany for having invited me and made all the arrangements.

K. Vaikunthavasan  
Convener, T.C.C.

"LE MONDE" REPORT

## "Le Monde" Report

*(Translation from the French daily  
Le Monde dated 14-11-1979)*

"The Tamil Community of Sri Lanka has been for long the victim of continued persecution, especially since the declaration of a State of Emergency on 12 July last" — stated Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Convener of the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee representing the Tamils living abroad, on Tuesday, 13 November (1979) during the Press Conference which he held in Paris to Correspondents of the leading Newspapers in France.

He further declared "the State of Emergency has given unbridled licence to the Police and the Army to hunt down, arrest, torture and kill Tamil youths."

According to him, two youths were killed after having been inhumanly tortured and their bodies flung on the public highway. 147 youths have been taken into custody since the Emergency in July and a large number of them has since disappeared.



Afro-Asian Solidarity—The Author and other Heads of Government Departments welcoming President Kaunda on his visit to KASAMA the capital of the Northern Province in ZAMBIA

BERGEN TIMES, the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest newspaper in Norway — About 200,000 daily. [3-10-79]

NORWEGIAN  
SUPPORT

BERGEN TIDENDE OMSTRÅD 3. OKTOBER 1979

Tamilnes adresses, Krishna Valkuntha Vasan i Bergen

# «Gi Java

" GIVE JAVA

## Maria

MARY

## et hjem

a HOME

## i Norge»

IN NORWAY "

Hun tilhører en undertrykt og statsløs minoritet

— Dersom Java Maria blir utvist fra Norge, er det ikke sikkert hun får slippe inn i Sri Lanka igjen. Og om hun ikke slipper inn, ville hun etter all sannsynlighet bli utvist fra verden. Nærmest ville hun ikke få i noen tilbiller.



Java Maria Helmer er indie-tamil, og er statsløs. Hun har ingen personlige rettigheter noe sted i verden. Det er vanskelig en jente å gi borten nogen i Norge? (Foto: Jan M. Lillebø)

## FRENCH SUPPORT

# A TRAVERS LE MONDE

## Brésil

- PAS D'ESSAI NUCLEAIRE. — La présidence de la République a démenti, mercredi 16 novembre, à Brasilia, les informations selon lesquelles les Brésiliens préparaient un essai nucléaire (*le Monde* du 15 novembre). — (A.P.P.)

## Espagne

- UNE CINQUANTAINE DE PERSONNES ont été blessées mercredi 14 novembre à Pamplune au cours d'une manifestation organisée pour protester contre la mort d'un conseiller municipal de Lecunza, près de Pamplune, dimanche dernier, lors d'un contrôle routier de la garde civile. — (A.P.P.)

## Italie

- ARRESTATION D'UN PALESTINIEN A BOLOGNE. — Un Palestinien, dont l'identité

de la politique répressive du régime du général Elio; l'an dernier, celui-ci n'avait pas hésité à faire arrêter plusieurs dizaines de journalistes et d'ouvreurs du livre, et fait feuuter quatre d'entre eux.]

## Sri-Lanka

- LA COMMUNAUTÉ TAMOULE DU SRI-LANKA EST VICTIME DE « PERSÉCUTIONS » depuis l'instauration de l'état d'urgence le 12 juillet dernier, a déclaré, mardi 13 novembre, à Paris, au cours d'une conférence de presse M. Krishna Valkunthavasan, président du Comité de coordination tamoul du Sri-Lanka. « L'état d'urgence a permis à la police et à l'armée de poursuivre, d'arrêter, de torturer et de tuer les jeunes Tamouls », a-t-il affirmé. Selon lui, deux jeunes gens sont morts après avoir été torturés en pleine rue, cent quarante-sept ont été emprisonnés depuis juillet et un grand nombre a disparu.

JAN 1990



Meeting with Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi 28 January 1980

# THE AUTHOR

Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan is a former Secretary General of the now 25,000 strong public service Trade Union in Ceylon - The GCSU. He also organised and was a Joint Secretary of the 100,000 strong All-Island Middle Class and Public Service Trade Unions during the years 1947-50.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan edited the English weekly newspaper "People's Voice" in Ceylon during the years 1951-53. It was the only weekly at the time. He visited China and Soviet Union with his wife as delegates from Ceylon to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference held in Peking and the World Peace Conference held in Vienna both in 1952. Subsequently he wrote the book "Three Months in New China and Soviet Union" published 1953. A Tamil edition also was published. It carried a Foreword by the (late) Prof. J.D. Bernal FRS, a vice President of the World Peace Council.

In 1960 Mr. Vaikunthavasan was called to the English Bar and practised as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon for ten years till 1971. He is also an Advocate of the Madras High Court from 1962.

He contested without success the Kankesanturai constituency in the Ceylon Parliament in 1965 as the official candidate of the United Left Front but resigned from it following the Front's anti-Tamil stand.

For six years from 1971-77 he worked in Zambia as a District Judge (Senior Resident Magistrate) and Registrar of the High Court.

He represented Zambia as an official delegate at two Commonwealth Magistrates' Conferences, the first one in Nairobi in August 1973 and again in Kuala Lumpur in August 1975.

In August 1978, in his capacity as a practising Barrister in England, he participated in the American Bar Association Centennial Convention held in New York as a British guest.

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